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On Difference

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Hassan ZRIZI

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Table of Contents

Editorial 7
Abdelhamid IBN EL FAROUK

Foreword 9

Introduction 11
Hassan ZRIZI

They are "Different": Televised Western Media Depiction of Difference in the Representation of Muslim Women 15
Kaoutar CHAHBANE & Nezha BELGHITI

Cultural Difference and the New Map of Clash in Contemporary Western Literature on the East 25
Mohamed SAÏSSI & Hassan ZRIZI

Announcing a Shift Paradigm in Arab Women's Writings 45
Hassan ZRIZI

Arabic Poetry from Conformism to Libertarianism 55
Ilham EL MAJDOUBI

Different Moroccan Jokes: A Sociolinguistic Typology 65
Saïd FATHI

Exorciser la différence ou le besoin de l'autre dans Quelqu'un qui vous ressemble d'Ahmed DICH 81
Mohamed OULED ALLA

Esthétique de l'hybride dans « Le diable », conte de Guy de Maupassant. Limites du réel et du fantastique 95
Zohra SAKI

Editorial

The Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Sciences is a scientific magazine published by the School of Arts and Humanities of Mohammedia, Hassan II University of Casablanca, Morocco. The Journal is issued by a group of researchers from various disciplines. It aims at producing high quality and updated studies related to the Humanities and Social Sciences, arts, literature and other fields.

The main aim of the Journal is to disseminate knowledge and the scientific production in conformity with the internationally recognized methodological criteria and standards. It also strives to establish standardized scientific research that will enrich human knowledge and open the institution to international horizons for more visibility. Hence, the necessity to launch an electronic version so as to promote the Journal and ensure international scientific recognition. Such a step would enable our College and researchers to introduce and expand their scientific product both on the national and international levels.

Our scientific aspiration stems from our plural linguistic specificity. Thus, we find it of importance that the Journal should deal with multiple spaces. The first is related to Arabic, one of the pillars of research and writing in many fields with readership in Morocco and the Arab World. In the second space, French particularly allows openness to the Francophone readers. Nowadays, our scientific ambition targets an international dimension that relies on a third Anglophone space that contributes to the advancement of research in the humanities in Morocco and in the intersecting geographies of the world.

We are conscious of the importance of the scientific article in promoting knowledge while adopting objectivity, accuracy and clarity and as a form of writing that enables the researchers to elaborate their research, ideas and findings concisely. The sovereignty of science is a priority as it relies on reason, logic and experimentation. We thus commit ourselves to scientific evidence, and scientific approaches, using objective analysis and avoiding biased opinions, away from the metaphorical language. Our duty is to support the publication of scientific articles as the gateway through which the researchers could access the prestigious academic circles and aspire to a honorable position among the scientific community worldwide.

The Journal is a scientific project that primarily aims at promoting the production and dissemination of the national research effort and making it visible, accessible and available on the national and international scenes. As researchers, we have to develop our methodology, codify our standards and improve the contents of our investigation so as to embrace the challenges of the intellectual and scientific horizon we all aspire to reach.

Abdelhamid Ibn El Farouk

Journal Director

Different Moroccan Jokes: A Sociolinguistic Typology

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Abstract: *The present study purports to be a contribution to the study of language in relation to society. This paper sheds some light on jokes and joke-telling in the Moroccan society.In fact, its rationale is to pave the way to further comparative cross-cultural analyses. These can help to testify whether jokes of different cultures have similar or different functions and structures and, accordingly, whether this similarity or dissimilarity is reflected in the structure of societies.*
Key Words: *joke-telling – cross-cultural – typology – ethnocentered- off-color.*

Introduction

Jokes are a fairly important social phenomenon which pervades the Moroccan society. They are closely associated with relaxation and humor; however, humor is sometimes taken only as a means to carry different other functions. A close analysis of jokes can help to give a good insight into the social values and the cultural attitudes and beliefs of a society.

This paper sheds some light on jokes and joke-telling in the Moroccan society. The basic methodology and approach adopted in this research is an extensive observation of joke-telling sessions, gathering and selection of data and analysis in the light of other pertinent studies as done by Sacks (1974), Labov (1972) and Horgan (1981). The present study purports to be a contribution to the study of language in relation to society. In fact, its rationale is to pave the way for further comparative cross-cultural analyses. These can help to testify whether jokes of different cultures have similar or different functions and structures and, accordingly, whether this similarity or dissimilarity is reflected in the structure of societies. By structure of a joke is meant the logical sequencing of different sections which make the narrative. Aside from humor, jokes carry also different functions in different societies and situations.

One might postulate that societies with differing cultures and values are likely to have different types of jokes – this is open to be confuted or confirmed. Many French jokes do not arouse even a sense of humor in us –Moroccans— while Tunisian and Egyptian jokes do seem quite funny. This is partly because of the basic common Islamic and Arabic heritage shared with Tunisians and Egyptians. Comparative studies on this issue will certainly have more insightful and significant statements and/or judgements.

1. Different methods of analysis

Horgan (1981), Johnson (1978) and Sacks (1974) have done some of the important studies that are directly pertinent to jokes. Horgan's analysis is rather particularistic and from a psycholinguistic point of view. On the other hand, Sacks' study is more general, though exemplified by the analysis of one particular off-color joke. According to Sacks, a joke is composed of three serially ordered and adjacently placed types of sequences, which he calls, the preface, the telling and the response sequences (p, 337). The preface is rather an offer to tell or a request for a chance to tell a joke, together with an initial characterization of the joke and some reference to the time of its occurrence or reception and to its donor. It must be emphasized here that this is by no means the case with Moroccan jokes where the preface will include only an opening sequence or an initial characterization through a linkage with the previous joke, if any. This is not to say that Moroccan jokes are all timeless and extemporaneous, but rather that such information about time and donor of the joke are not always relevant to the joke-telling.

Actual responses to an offer might range from an acceptance to asking for a delay or refusal altogether. Besides, once the first recipient accepts the offer, a second one need not intervene to grant his acceptance, unless he intends to refuse that offer. Thus, the first recipient's reaction can be on behalf of all the other recipients depending on their respective reactions.

After the acceptance of the offer, the telling proceeds on, which might be interrupted in case a recipient fails to hear some just produced fragment of the joke. Finally, the response sequence can be an overall evaluation of the success of the joke. A usual response is laughings that partially overlap, but silence can also ensue a joke. This is an indicator of its failure, which can be imputed to some defect of the joke or of its telling. If the joke is successful, a recipient's failure to understanding it is concealable through a spurious laughter. A delayed laughter is better retained lest the recipient be deemed as lacking sophistication to understand jokes.

Sacks' structural analysis of jokes into three sequences claims to be applicable to all types of jokes built in the form of stories. He exemplifies it by only one dirty joke without referring to different categories of jokes, which could or could not conform to his analysis.

On pages 310-11, Johnson (1978) states that the joking frame would consist of the following variables:

1- The object of the joke, which is contained by invoked reference.

2- The joker

3- The audience

4- The context, which contains the joker, the audience, the joke, and consequently the object of the joke.

5- Shared knowledge, which is social understanding: language, conceptual categories, toles, and mutual awareness of situation. Shared knowledge is necessary for the perception of the joke.

6- The joke, which is the result of the interplay of the variables of object, joker, audience, context and shared knowledge.

Horgan (1981), on the other hand, initiated her paper with a categorization of jokes. In her analysis of some data elicited from an atypical child, she could classify her jokes into four types:

1) Violations of semantic categories, a type in which the child seemed to overgeneralize every new learned word to other objects with concomitant laughter. Actually, she was violating the semantic restrictions of newly acquired words.

2) Phonetic pattern games in which the child replaced the first consonant of the last syllable of evry content word by a /t/. This game could stand for an external evidence for syllable boundary assignment.

3) Changing established patterns, a game in which the child changed or juxtaposed phonetically related words, e.g. (peep, people).

4) Riddle-like questions in which stage she started coining her own riddles without having been exposed to any before.

After this initial characterization of the child's jokes into four categories, it became easier for Horgan to come up with generalizations. She remarked that 'such kind of jokes seems to reflect increased cognitive complexity of the child' (p. 221). Besides, 'all the jokes of the child deal with incongruity or ambiguity' (222), which are of course some of the basic sources of humor. Fowles & Glanz (1977), cited by Hogan on the same page, suggest that there are three factors involved in humor: 1) cognitive ability, 2) familiarity with jokes and 3) attention to language. True, but a good humorist must be endowed with more factors. He must have some idiosyncratic propensity for humor to become talented in joke-telling. This is exemplified by his proclivity to make use of aberrant situations he might encounter or even improvise new ones himself.

Both Sacks' and Horgan's analyses could be complementary if synthesized in one same mould. The former deals with the narrative structure of jokes with an instance of only one particular type while the latter analyzes differenr types of jokes but using data elicited from only one particular child ; so, neither one is actually exhaustive enough to lead to generalizations. Johnson goes beyond the

joke as a narrative and takes into consideration other related parameters, such as the audience, the context and shared knowledge.

There are other studies which have focused mainly on the structure of narratives, be they folktales, relations of past experiences or simply stories. These are relevant to the analysis of Moroccan jokes because they analyze the structure of narratives. For example, in Propp's (1968) analysis of Russian folktales, which is both empirical and inductive, the structure of the tale is delineated in terms of the same sequence of its elemnts as they are narrated. In another trend, pionnered by Lévi-Strauss (1958), the elements of the tale are reordered in one or more analytical schema. Such analysis is both speculative and deductive.

Propp remarks that both constants and variables are present in the tale, where variables are exemplified by different protagonists who behave differently and where the function is constant throughout the various versions of the same tale. Functions, which are the basic components in Propp's analysis of the folktale, are defined in terms of nouns, e.g. interdiction, flight, seizure, etc. 'Function is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance of the course of action' (Propp, 1968 : 21). This way, Propp is not considering the notion of 'function' to be related to the outside effects of the folktale, e.g. maintenance of social values and beliefs. Therefore, Propp's historical study of Russian folktales is mainly taxonomic, that is classificatory.

More recent studies of narratives and stories (Propp's Russian version of his book first appeared in 1928) have been done since the early seventies of the last century. These are story grammars which make use of formal properties, i.e. written in terms of phrase structure rules, like

Story → setting → theme → plot → resolution

as the first rewrite rule. Other rules ensue which further elaborate the immediately previous one. Some story grammars make use of semantic relations in addition to syntactic ones, as in

Episode → event → reaction

➔ INITIATE (event, reaction)

that is, an episode initiates both an event and a subsequent reaction.

Story grammars claim to distinguish between stories and nonstories, act as models of story understanding and as models of memory for stories. In an evaluation of story grammars, Black & Wilensky (1979) found that 'story grammars are not completely general, rather they apply only to stories about a single major character striving to reach a single overall goal' (p 220). Thus, a story in which the major character has many simultaneous (and probably

conflicting) goals or a story with many protagonists pursuing different goals cannot be properly handled by story grammars. 'But single-protagonist, single-goal stories form an important class of stories' (p. 220).

Black & Wilensky (1979) further concluded that story grammars are not adequate in that they generate non-stories while there are simple stories which they could not generate. Besides, 'in order to determine the constituent structure of the story, we need to first have understood the story' (p. 227). In that case, story grammars are no longer story comprehension models and it becomes useless to analyze a story into its constituent structure.

As a better research orientation, Black & Wilensky propose to focus on the kinds of knowledge needed to understand story content and on the way this knowledge is used in that understanding. This seems more promising than the structural analysis of stories. However, a structural analysis of narratives is not altogether unpromising. Such structural analyses have been done by Labov (1972) who analyzed the narratives of non-standard Black English children and came up with an overall structure of narratives.

Briefly, a fully-formed narrative may be constituted of six adjacently placed parts: 1) abstract, 2) orientation, 3) complicating action, 4) evaluation, 5) result and 6) coda. It is not necessary that all six of these be present in every narrative; for example, some narratives will not have an abstract while others may not have a coda. Additionally, these components need not appear in a specific order, and each may be present in a variety of ways.

The abstract functions as an advertisement or an invitation to listen, while the orientation section sets the time, persons and situations of the narrative. Following orientation is 'the complicating action', which refers to the actual events of the narrative, the occurrences that move it ahead. The evaluation is a means used by the narrator to indicate the raison d'être of his narrative. Following this is what Labov calls the 'result' or 'resolution': this, basically, is the conclusion. At this point, the narrator indicates that the story has come to a close and that a final action has occurred. Finally, there may be a coda when the narrator points out the relevance of the story by connecting it with every-day life, or with other events that fall outside the story frame.

Therefore, according to Labov, a complete narrative begins with an orientation, proceeds to the complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before it concludes with the resolution and returns the listener to the present time with the coda.

It follows from this review of different analyses of jokes that joke-telling, like narratives, can be analyzed in two different ways, either by focusing on the

structure of the joke or on its content. However, neither does seem to be comprehensive; rather, they are more complementary than mutually exclusive; so, a promising analysis of jokes is the one which will tackle both their content and their structure.

2. Typology of Moroccan jokes

Before setting out on this step, a clear definition of jokes must be attempted to make sure that we are analyzing the narrative aspect of jokes. It is the case that a definition of a subject matter already gives some insight into it by this delimitation.

The data gathered for this analysis show that jokes almost always take the form of narratives. Sacks (1974) says that 'the joke is built in the form of a story' (p.337). But what is a narrative? It is 'one method of recapitulating past experiences by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequences of events which –it is inferred—actually occurred' (Labov, 1972: 359). Labov's definition is restrictive in two ways: he certainly means the past experiences to be personal since his research consisted of asking Black children about their past experiences. Besides, he infers that the experience is not fictitious. To define a joke, then, the notion of 'narrative' shall be considered in its broader sense so that a joke is a narrative which potentially purports to make the recipients laugh. It is this type of jokes built in the form of stories that shall be focused upon in this paper.

With this definition at hand, a typology of Moroccan jokes can now be tackled. To proceed in a much-ordered way, the structural description is to be done within the framework of a preconceived classification of jokes. This tentative typology of jokes is adopted for ease of reference and description. It is not an end per se, rather, a helping device paving the way for a structural analysis.

This categorization of jokes depends on their content or the topic around which they revolve. In fact, it is a thematic typology which does not claim to be thoroughly conclusive since the data on which it is based may not be exhaustive enough. This is because the 64 informants, mainly senior and junior university students, do not represent all the various strata of the Moroccan society. Still, it is a good sampling of the kind of jokes that are recurrent among Moroccans. For the purpose of this study, 83 different jokes have been collected through observation, note-taking but also elicitation.

Depending on their themes, Moroccan jokes can be categorized into five types. It must be noted that different types of jokes may overlap, that is, a given joke can appear as representative of two types because, for example, it is both

political and obscene. However, most of the time, one facet will prevail over the other and so entitles the joke to be considered more political than obscene or vice versa. The order in which these types will appear does not mirror their frequency of occurrence, saving the last type, which is less restrictive and, for this reason, prone to be more prevalent than the other types.

2.1 Political jokes: this type subsumes all jokes which pertain to the political system, its corrupted officials, its dehumanizing policy, etc. A side effect of political jokes is that they act as a solace or an oulet of inhibited feelings. Some of these political jokes are very specific while others are fairly general, like the following:

J1.1- gal-lek had-i
told-to you this-fem. sing. marker
This is

J1.2- inglaterra tlaqa-t mʕa l-meɣrib
england met-she with the—morocco
England meeting Morocco

J1.3 f-waħed l-muʔtamar
in-one the-conference
in a conference

J1.4 u-gal-et lih rah ʕandi ʃi braheʃ
and-told-she him that I have some urchins
and telling him that she has some troublesome youngsters

J1.5 ʂajfṯ-u li-na ʃi ḍarba djal l-ħʃiʃ
send-you for-us some bunch of the-hashish
why don't you send us some hashish ?

J1.6 baʃ n-saqqlu-hum
for we-calm-them
to calm them down

J1.7 naḍ l-meɣrib ʒawb-ha u-gal

got up the-morocco answered-her and-said

Morocco was to retort

J1.8 lqaj-na-h ħta-ħna

found-we-it even-us

have we any ourselves ?

J1.9 ra-ħna ɣir mʃaddin b-ʃwija djal smerf

it-we only contenting ourselvses with-some of smurf we're

only calming our own with some 'smurf'

J1.10 ha ha ha ha ha

(laughters)

This joke is deemed as political because it condemns the phenomenon of 'smurf' dance, very popular in the 80's of last century, not as an ephemeral fashion followed by Moroccan youth but because, it is believed, it is encouraged and sponsored by the authorities through various ways to distract the young adolescents from the real problems of society. This way a political stance is being expressed by means of a political joke.

2.2 Ethnocentered jokes

This type is somewhat more socially-oriented than the former. It reflects and expresses the aberrant social attitudes held by the common people toward the different communities of the Morrocan society. Ethnocentered jokes are replete with defamatory beliefs so that some notorious characters are socially stigmatized for no tangible or convincing reasons and some people are denigrated only for their 'ethnic' origins. Hence, Berbers are believed to be very thrifty while Fassi people are thought of as cowards. People from the countryside are said to be uncivic and rough-mannered and inhabitants of the mountains are thought to be exceedingly vindictive. One negative effect of this type of jokes is that it widens the gap that is between the different communities of the Moroccan society. It also arouses the lingering animosity that is only slightly mitigated by the coexistence between the communities. To exemlpify this type, two jokes have been chosen which pertain to Berbers and Fassis, respectively:

J2.1 gal-le-k had-a waħed

told-to-you this-masc. sing. marker one
This is one

J2.2 ʃ-ʃelh xeḍḍar
the-berber green-grocer
Berber green-grocer

J2.3 ʒa ʕand-u waħed xajna
Came to-him one bloke
and a guy came to him

J2.4 u-huwa jhez waħed ʒelbana u-kal-ha
and-he took one peapod and-ate-it
took a peapod and ate it

J2.5 ʃaf-u ʃ-ʃelh u-huwa jsxef
saw-him the-berber and-he fainted
seeing him, the Berber fainted

J2.6 ʒaw n-nas kajfejq-u fi-h b-waħed l-beṣla
came people waking up-they in-him with-one the-onion
Some people helped him come to with an onion

J2.7 melli faq gal li-hum djal-men l-beṣla
when woke up told to-them of-whom the-onion
When he woke up he asked whose onion it was

J2.8 gal-u li-h djale-ek
told-they to-him of-you
Yours, they told him

J2.9 u-huwa jmut
and-he died
and he died

J2.10 ha ha ha ha ha
(extended laughings)

This joke shows how exaggerated is this Berber's parsimony believed to be to the extent that he could not sacrifice one onion on his own life. The

sociologist Christie Davies has written extensively on ethnic jokes told in countries around the world. In ethnic jokes, he finds that the "stupid" ethnic target in the joke is no stranger to the culture, but rather a peripheral social group (geographic, economic, cultural, linguistic) well known to the joke tellers (Davies, 2008:163-5). So Americans tell jokes about Polacks and Italians, Germans tell jokes about Ostfriesens, and the English tell jokes about the Irish.The subsequent joke shows how cowardly Fassi people are thought to be in face of danger:

J2'.1 had-u waħed
this-plural marker one
These are

J2'.2 r-rebʕin djal ffasa
the-forty of fassi
some forty Fassis

J2'.3 xarʒin men waħed l-ʕers
getting out from one the-festivity
getting out from a festivity

J2'.4 waħed skajri mħajjeħ geddam-hum
one drunkard shouting in front of-them
An uninhibited drunkard shouting nearby

J2'.5 naqqez waħed u-gal le-ʂħab-u
jumped one and-told to-friends-his
Alarmed, one of them told his friends

J2'.6 nari em-kum had-ak skajri
dear mother-your that drunkard
Dear me, there goes a drunkard

J2'.7 u-ħna ɣir buħd-na
and-we only alone-we
and we're all alone

J2'.8 ha ha ha ha ha
(laughters)

It must be emphasized here that jokes are hardly wholly translatable. This is because humor in jokes resides in specific facts of the language concerned together with concomitant cultural values and beliefs. Some sociological studies might proceed in this field to show to what extent humor is universal and to what extent language affects humor. Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis that 'we dissect nature

along lines laid down by our native language' is germane to this issue because it stipulates that language largely influences our view of the world. Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis 'that the structure of a language determines a native speaker's perception and categorization of experience' was first advanced by Edward Sapir in 1929 and subsequently developed by Benjamin Whorf. Our humor, in this sense, reflects our view of the world and is, accordinglmy, largely affected by language.

2.3 Off-color jokes

This type includes all jokes which have improper, namely sexual, connotations. Mainly they bear upon sex organs, sexual intercourse, taboo words and many other obscenities. This type of jokes shows that humor is also sought at the cost of propriety and decorum, with no implicature that jokers of this category are necessarily indecent. Rather, such obscene topics are treated only within closed circles where there is a high degree of intimacy between joker and recipients. Off-color jokes are like forbidden fruits which are desired because they are not allowed; the least improper off-color jokes of the collected data goes like the following:

J3.1 had-u waħed ʒuʒ
this-plural marker one two
These are two (guys)

J3.2 barkin kajtbawqu f-ras d-derb
sitting getting high in-head the-quarter
smoking pot at the corner of the street

J3.3 u-l-bent lli daz-et waħed fi-hum
and-the –girl that passed-she one in-them
whenever a girl passes by, one of them

J3.4 taj-gul l-ṣaħb-u
he-tells to-friend-his
tells his friend

J3.5 buʒem3a buʒem3a warreq warreq buterma
Boujemaa boujemaa look look
father of-bum
Boujemaa, Boujemaa look look at this 'bumful'

J3.6 u-melli tbawq-u mezjan gal li-h
and-when got high-they well told to-him
and when they got really high, he told him

J3.7 bu-terma bu-terma warreq warreq buʒem3a
father of-bum father of-bum look look boujemaa
'bumful ', 'bumful' look at Boujemaa
J3.8 ha ha ha ha ha
(laughings)

The translation of this joke is no good because much of its humor is lost in the process. The term 'buterma' does not really translate into 'bumful', but rather into 'the one with bulky buttocks'. The humor lies in the permutation of both terms 'buterma' and 'boujemaa' (which is a proper noun) due to the similarity of their initial syllables /bu/ and due to the effect of smoking pot. Only the occurrence of the term 'buterma' makes this joke an off-colr/obscene one and after the permutation with 'boujemaa' makes the recipients laugh, if the joke is understood and well-appreciated.

2.4 Blasphemous jokes

This fourth type of jokes is linked to the previous one as it also deals with taboos, but on more religious grounds than moral ones. Jokes within this category, which have an irreverant nature, do not show any respect to the basic tenets of religion. Some jokes even display some atheistic propensity by denying the existence of God, distorting Koranic verses, or making fun of the prophet and his apostles. Let's see to what extent the ensuing joke is representative of this category of blasphemous jokes:

J4.1 gal-le-k had-a
told-to-you this-masc. sing. marker
This is
J4.2 marks kajʃabbeʔ f-n-nas f-ʒahennem
Marx arousing in-the-people in-hell
Marx preaching his doctrine to people in Hell
J4.3 u-mnawwed ħajħa
and-creating chaos
and he's creating problems up there
J4.4 naḍ l-lah u-ṣajfeṭ li-h ʒebril
got up the-God and-sent to-him Gabriel
God sent him Gabriel
J4.5 baʃ jrʃi-h l-ʒenna
for bribe-him to-paradise

to bribe him into Paradise

J4.6 u-melli rʒeʃ kan kaʃi u-gal l-lah
and-when returned was furious and-told to-God
when he came back, he was furious and told God

J4.7 ʃħal men ʕam had-a
how many of year this-masc. sing. marker
many years have gone by

J4.8 ma ʃeddi-na ʃi ʕuʈla u-la ʃi zjada
no took-we some vacation and-neither some rise
and I've had neither vacation nor salary rise

J4.9 (ħit ħta-huwa ʔatter fi-h marks)
(because even-he influence in-him Marx)
(because he was also influenced by Marx)

J4.10 ha ha ha ha ha
(Laughings)

This joke shows that there is indeed some overlap between different types of jokes. This one is deemed to be a blasphemous one because of its irreverent nature; however, it could also be regarded as political because of its leftist propaganda. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Marx, who could as well be substituted by other political figures, is only a means of blasphemy, which is the initial intention of the joke.

2.5 Miscellaneous jokes

This fifth category of jokes, as has been noted earlier, is more frequent because it subsumes hosts of jokes which could not be categorized with any of the former four types because of its various different topics. Jokes within this fifth type also capture humor that is triggered by facts of everyday life and range over various topics. This category of jokes could not be further bifurcated properly into sub-types because of the myriad of topics it bears upon; however, it differs from the other categories in that its jokes have no political, blasphemous, and obscene or ethnocentered nature. Accordingly, it is difficult to choose a joke which is more representative of this category. So, the subsequent joke is by no means more prototypical than others in this type:

J5.1 gal-le-k had-i waħed
told-to-you this-fem. sing. Marker one

This is one

J5.2 n-nemla bɣa-t t-ʒewweʒ b-waħed l-fil
the-ant wante-ed she-marry with-one the-elephant
ant who wants to marry an elephant

J5.3 wa-lakin bba-ha rfeḍ
and-but hather-her refused
but her father refused

J5.4 naḍ-et n-nemla u-ʕawdet le-m-ha
got up-she the-ant and-told-she to-mother-her
She, then, told her mother

J5.5 waħed s-sir xaṭir
one the-secret dangerous
a dangerous secret

J5.6 u-huma walidi-ha jqebl-u
and-they parents-her accept-they
for which reason her parents accepted (the marriage)

J5.7 (gal-et li-ha ra-ni ħamla men-l-fil)
(told-she to-her it-me pregnant from-the-elephant)
(she told her mother she was pregnant from the elephant)

J5.8 ha ha ha ha ha
(Prolonged overlapping laughters)

Conclusion

The aim of this paper is to make a sociolinguistic typology of Moroccan jokes as commonly recounted by university students back in the eighties of last century. Such jokes are built in the form of stories. A joke is a narrative which potentially purports to make the audience laugh. Structure and function of jokes, being different aspects, have been left out of this paper for further research in this regard. The typology of Moroccan jokes in terms of their contents distinguished five types: political, ethno-centered, off-color, blasphemous and miscellaneous. This categorization has been set up to pave the way for testing whether there is any correlation between the narrative structure and type of Moroccan jokes. An analysis of these jokes shows that they basically have a similar structure. Such aspect of structure and function of Moroccan jokes will be dealt with in another paper. Needless to stress that comparative and cross-

cultural studies on jokes from other cultures and languages will shed more light on the potential universal features of jokes.

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List of Symbols Used in the Transcriptions

1. /i/: high front vowel
2. /a/: low back unrounded vowel
3. /u/: high back rounded vowel
4. /e/: mid front vowel
5. /b/: voiced bilabial stop
6. /t/: voiceless alveolar stop
7. /d/: voiced alveolar stop
8. /ʈ/: voiceless palatal stop
9. /ɖ/: voiced palatal stop
10. /k/: voiceless velar stop
11. /g/: voiceless velar stop
12. /ʔ/: voiceless glottal stop
13. /q/: voiceless uvular stop
14. /f/: voiceless labiodental fricative
15. /s/: voiceless alveolar fricative
16. /z/: voiced alveolar fricative
17. /ʃ/: voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
18. /ʒ/: voiced palato-alveolar fricative
19. /ʂ/: voiceless palatal fricative
20. /x/: voiceless velar fricative
21. /ɣ/: voiced velar fricative
22. /h/: voiceless glottal fricative
23. /ħ/: voiceless pharyngeal fricative
24. /ʕ/: voiced pharyngeal fricative
25. /m/: voiced bilabial nasal
26. /n/: voiced alveolar nasal
27. /l/: voiced alveolar lateral
28. /r/: voiced alveolar trill
29. /w/: voiced labiovelar glide
30. /j/: voiced palatal glide